

## Business Notices.

## THE DISUNION CRISIS.

An interesting article touching this subject will be found in the Dry Goods column of this paper, headed "Results of the Panic." Read it!

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## THE DISUNION QUESTION.

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## New-York Daily Tribune.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1861.

TO CORRESPONDENTS. No notice can be taken of Anonymous Communications. What ever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer—not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee for his good faith. Business letters should in all cases be addressed to THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNE. We cannot undertake to return rejected Communications.

Advertisements for THE WEEKLY TRIBUNE for this week must be handed in to-day.

## To Advertisers.

The large increase in the circulation of THE TRIBUNE renders it necessary that it be put to press at a much earlier hour than heretofore, and we will thank advertisers to send in their advertisements as early in the day as possible.

We learn from Mississippi that the ordinance of immediate secession will pass the Convention of that State to-day in secret session.

It is reported from Washington that Senator Cameron has declined a place in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet.

The Alabama State Convention was addressed by Mr. Calhoun, the South Carolina Commissioner, yesterday, and the address was well received. A Committee of Thirteen was appointed to consider and report upon the necessity of action by the State.

The Florida Convention yesterday adopted a resolution declaring it to be the right of States to withdraw from the Union under certain causes, and that those causes now compel Florida to exercise that right. The vote was—Yeas, 62; Nays, 5. It is reported that the Governor has taken possession of all the forts and other Federal property.

The steamer Palestine, with three days later European intelligence, arrived at this port yesterday afternoon. Her latest dates are for the 25th ult. There were reports in Paris that Russia and France had agreed to support Francis II. in his stronghold at Gaeta until Spring. Another report is that the Emperor Napoleon is about to establish a Southern Kingdom in Italy, the sovereign of which will not be Victor Emanuel. Italian affairs were unchanged. The market reports by the Palestine are no later than those by the Australasian.

The Annual Festival of the Tammany Society last evening, in commemoration of the Battle of New-Orleans, was seized upon for the expression of Secession sentiments by but few of the speakers. The general feeling, represented by Daniel S. Dickinson and others, appeared to be, as Mr. Dickinson said, that the Black Republicans, having used their principles on the subject of Slavery as their stock in trade to get into office, would now give them up, and effect a compromise satisfactory to the Union men of the South.

The session of the Committee of Thirty-Three yesterday was mainly devoted to the discussion of two propositions offered by Mr. Dunn—one to prevent armed invasion of the States, and the other to protect citizens of one State while traveling or sojourning in another. They were finally referred to a sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. Dunn, Millson, and Davis. The labors of the Committee of Thirty-Three are regarded as being substantially closed, and bills will now be prepared upon the various subjects which the Committee will recommend.

EDGAR A. COWAN, Esq., was yesterday chosen U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania for six years from the 4th of March next, vice William Bigler (Dem.), who meditates retirement. Mr. Cowan, having been an active Whig when his county and district were overwhelmingly otherwise, has never yet been in public life, but he is well known within the State as an able, upright, and zealous Republican, who will serve his State and the country zealously, worthily, effectively. We rejoice that this important post has been so happily filled.

The Hon. Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, has resigned. His pretext is the reinforcement of Maj. Anderson. It would have been better for his own honor had he left office before he began to be a traitor. Undertaking to overthrow the Government of which you are a sworn minister may be in accordance with the ideas of cotton-growing chivalry, but to common men cannot be made to appear creditable. Godard Bailey, Mr. Thompson's confidential clerk, is thought to be disgraced by stealing the value of three-quarters of a million; in our judgment his crime is manliness and honesty compared to that of his late superior.

The steamship Star of the West has not yet been heard from; but as communication between Charleston and Fort Sumter has been cut off, and the telegraph is in the hands of the traitors, there need be no apprehension for her safety. Threats have been made that any vessel bringing succor to the troops in the fortress would be sunk by the insurgent guns from Morris Island; but we do not apprehend that any serious danger will have to be encountered in reaching

Fort Sumter. There were rumors in Washington yesterday, however, that she had been attacked in the neighborhood of Charleston, and that the city had been cannonaded by Major Anderson; but we give no credence to the report.

The Committee of the Virginia House of Delegates have fixed upon the 15th of February for the meeting of the State Convention, and the 7th of the same month for the election of delegates. The general opinion was that Virginia would secede about the 20th of February. A proposition to appropriate \$10,000,000 for military purposes has been referred to a Committee.

## THE CABINET.

With regard to Mr. Seward we have information of a conflicting nature. On one side, we are assured by good authority that he has not yet accepted the office tendered him by Mr. Lincoln, and may still decline it. On the other side, we are told that the matter was positively arranged weeks ago, though the papers did not pass so as to warrant technical contradiction of the statement that he still holds the subject in abeyance. For our part, we have no doubt that Mr. Seward will be the Secretary of State in the new Administration.

That Mr. Cameron will be a Minister of the incoming President is not now so certain. We feel ourselves authorized in stating that since his letter to that gentleman was written, Mr. Lincoln has received information which has materially altered his purpose with regard to the proposed appointment for Pennsylvania. He now deems himself at liberty to reconsider it.

## MEXICO.

At length, the long distraction of Mexico would seem to have reached at least a pause. The undoubted superiority of Miramon as a leader to any of the Liberal chiefs, the possession of the central and most populous portion of the country by the Church party, and the manifest preponderance of sympathy for that side on the part of the Military caste, have not sufficed permanently to overcome the preference of the great majority of the people. The Liberal forces for some time past converging on the capital encountered and routed the army of Miramon on the 22d ult., and the defeated chief was obliged forthwith to evacuate the city, which was entered without resistance by the Liberals on Christmas day. The triumph was believed to be complete, and Juarez, the Constitutional President, was to leave Vera Cruz for the capital on the 3d inst. So we trust the strife is at an end.

The best feature of this consummation is the fact that it has been achieved by Mexican arms alone. Foreign interference, though often unwisely invoked, has been happily withheld; and the triumph of Liberalism is unstained by aught that could offend the susceptibilities of the proudest nation. Mexico has decided against the medieval pretensions of her Established Church, and there can be little doubt that the ecclesiastical interest will, for a time at least, submit, with the best possible grace, to what is plainly inevitable. We ardently hope that Mexico may henceforth enjoy some years of internal peace. May those years be improved to the development of her vast yet mainly neglected National resources, the strengthening of her political fabric, the purifying of her administration and the enlightenment of her people!

## THE QUESTION OF THE HOUR.

If the North were a slave who, in an agony of fear and passion, had baffled his master's amiable intent of whipping him by whipping his master, and who, appalled at his own temerity, were begging Massa's forgiveness with solemn assurances that he would never do so again, then the attitude and bearing of the Southern Secessionists, the Northern clamorers for compromise and concession, would be intelligible. But that a party which has just triumphed in a momentous and determined struggle should, because of that very triumph, be summoned to concede to its antagonists what it scornfully refused when it was a powerless minority, is not conceivable on any other theory than that which assumes that any sort of practical repugnance to Slavery on the part of the Free States is a species of bad faith, of incipient treason, which cannot be too sternly resented, too promptly disclaimed, nor too thoroughly repented.

The Saturday Review (London) of the 22d ult. thus forcibly expresses the view of this exaction that must strike every intelligent and impartial observer:

"Under these circumstances, President Buchanan recommends the Northern States to make three great concessions in order that South Carolina may be induced to reënter the Union, and that other Southern States may be prevented from following her example. The points on which he advises the North to allow the Constitution of the United States to be amended involve such formidable changes that it seems scarcely possible to save the Union if these are really the conditions of its preservation. It may be presumed in a freeman to speak with positiveness, but it is surely out of the question that the North should acquiesce in two out of the three. The Republican leaders have shown some disposition to meet the slave-owning interest halfway on the first of Mr. Buchanan's proposals, by offering to promote a change in Northern legislation by which fugitive slaves shall either be returned or paid for by the township which prevents their recovery. But the other two of the President's suggestions amount to nothing more than a proposal for placing the Northern States in a far worse position in reference to Slavery than they have ever found themselves in since the Federal Government has been in existence. Besides urging on them to remove all impediments to the efficiency of the Fugitive Slave law, he calls on them to insert an express recognition of Slavery in the Constitution, and an express declaration that it is the duty of Congress to protect Slave property in the Territories up to the moment of their becoming States. The first of these amendments would be no advantage to the South, and a cruel insult to the North. The Constitution, as is well known, speaks only of 'persons bound to labor'; but there is not a shadow of doubt that it meant slaves. The amendment phrase which was introduced to spare the feelings of the Northern States at a moment when the greater number of them had barely abolished Slavery, will surely not be exchanged for plain speaking at a moment when the very complaint of the South is that Northern apathy to Slavery has grown into fanaticism. Mr. Buchanan speaks doubtless, with the utmost sincerity; but what is he, in effect, advising, is that a victorious party should not only abandon the fruits of victory, but should voluntarily march under the yoke. It will be one of the strangest events in political history, if the Free States, having wrought themselves up after eight years of discussion to a solemn declaration that Slavery shall not be allowed to extend its borders, should consent to adopt the very watchword of the slave-owners, beside assisting actively in the accomplishment of objects which have lately been beyond their utmost hopes."

We have repeatedly quoted from *The Herald*, the Hon. W. Hunt and other such authorities, to the same effect—that what is demanded of the Republican party is not really conciliation but suicide, following a penitential confession of its enormous guilt in being Republican. The following, from the leader in the last *Herald*, is rather more overladen with muddy verbiage, but its drift is the same:

"And why should the Republican party in Congress hesitate in this matter? The concessions demanded by the South involve sacrifice of Northern principles south a moment's consideration; for, if the Missouri dividing line be adopted, or if Slavery be recognized in all the Territories, or if they all be admitted as slave States, the inviolable law of Union, of soil, and emigration, will justly require us to recognize

the Fugitive Slave law to the satisfaction of the South; or why the Southern slaveholder should not be allowed a margin of six or nine months' sojourn, with his slaves on a temporary visit to a Free State, on his way on a journey through it. This privilege has been granted heretofore in New York, and we believe that Mr. Seward's name is among its advocates. In a word, the demands of the South on the Slavery question involve no difficulties which the Republican party in Congress may not overcome within the next ten days, if they can only be brought to a common-sense understanding of the subject.

"But we are told that these suggested 'concessions' to the 'Slave Power' will be the certain destruction of the Republic; that the public opinion of the North will revolt against such a policy. Our answer is, that there is a very common-sense view of the subject."

"The Republican party, however, may take this work of reconstruction into their own hands if they will, and, in liberal concessions of Southern abstractions, may not only save the Union, but establish themselves in power for twenty years. This policy might cut off from the party its radical and extreme elements. This policy might involve the loss of the American South. This policy might involve the loss of the American South. This policy might involve the loss of the American South."

—That is to say: the Republican party has only to turn its back on itself, as Mr. Douglas has just done, abjure its principles, swallow its professions, kick out the New-England States (three of which are not to-day so decidedly Republican as are the States North-West of the Ohio), and its politicians may retain office for years by the aid of the border Slave States!

If this were a new dodge, there might be temptation in it. Adam in the Garden of Eden had a similar prospect opened before him by the serpent. Christ, when he was "led away into the wilderness, to be tempted by the devil," had a like experience. In later days, Mr. Webster and Mr. Fillmore were severely dazzled by a like programme of first saving "the Union and then securing an election to the Presidency as the merited reward of such broad, brave, unsectional patriotism. The fox whom the lion courtously invited into his den, was naturally struck by the curious circumstance that many tracks of various animals led into that retreat, but none other than leopards seemed to lead away from it: so, being a fox, and not an ass, he concluded that it was safer to stay out.

If any one sees a project of conciliation and compromise submitted, and respectfully supported from the Slave States, which does not involve an assumption that even the bare existence of the Republican party is an impertinence and an offense, we will thank him to send us a copy of it. He need not take the trouble with the other sort, as we have a glut of them already.

## THE FRUIT OF THE FAST.

The precise pecuniary purport and upshot of fasting was many years ago set forth by Regino, Abbot of Prume, in his "Two Books of Ecclesiastical Discipline," of which we find some account in D'Aubigne. "For a seven days' fast," says this erudite person, "you shall pay 'twenty pence; if you are rich; ten if you are 'less wealthy, and threepence if you are poor; and so on for less matters.' If we consider this tariff as still in force—and why not, since among other ancient remedies coming into vogue in these troubled times, the Rev. Rabbi Raphael proposes to save the State by a general circumcision—if we follow the above mentioned standard of computation, the man who rigidly restrained his molars upon the Presidential Fast Day did the country just one-seventh part of twenty cents' worth of good, which may be decimally stated thus: 2.51428571424; the last character not being the sign of the cross, as some, from the nature of the subject might apprehend, but rather the indicator of the surplus piety which it is impossible to present with numerical exactness. Every man, woman, and child in the country, therefore, either earned or had the opportunity of earning, last Friday, a little over two cents.

But wisdom is better than coppers. Yea, even than that yellow amalgam which has pushed copper out of circulation. The newspapers swarm with the reports of sermons preached upon this Day of Fast and Humiliation, and it is a singular fact, that however rigidly the Fast may have been observed, the Humiliation is not particularly apparent. Thus we are informed by the Rev. Dr. Raphael aforementioned, that whereas the Jews were bound by their law to surrender runaway slaves belonging to Jews, and were not bound to surrender similar fugitives from Edom or Syria, so we are bound to give up those absconding from South Carolina, but not those fleeing from South America—all which we expect to understand when we can also comprehend the case of Corporal Trim's brother, who was cast into prison by the Inquisition for marrying a Jew's widow and selling sausages. What a gem is Slavery in our Christian canon, which even "Jews may kiss and handle adore!"

—So much for Dr. Raphael's "humiliation," which the unintelligent might regard as pride of caste.

Pass we now from this Light of the Old to the Rev. Dr. Vinton, who is a Light of the New Dispensation. Here we principally notice the Doctor's excellent amendment of the Declaration of Independence, and his plump and point-blank contradiction of the "self-evident truth" of that poor, forlorn, and much-refuted document. All men free and equal! Stuff and nonsense! Hear the Trinity Doctor! "And noticing first," quoth he, "God's constitution of society, we observe INEQUALITY." Here is a clear case, then, according to Dr. Vinton, of God against Thomas Jefferson. But this is nothing to the amiable Doctor's parallel between the holy and honorable state of matrimony and Slavery, which is novel enough to make a misogynist grin sardonically. "In the relation of husband and wife, 'the bonds are for life.' . . . In the relation 'of master and servant [i. e., slave] the relation is for a specified time, or at will or for 'life.' Marriage is Slavery, said the Comic Dramatists of the Restoration. Marriage is Slavery, say the Free-Lovers of modern times. 'Amen!' says Dr. Vinton; 'marriage certainly is a kind of Slavery.' We leave him to the tender mercies of the youth of his parish.

There is one passage now before us which is such a gem of rhetoric that we will give it entire. It is from the Discourse of Dr. Taylor, and is as follows: "I say that South Carolina has 'wronged to complain of—she has injuries to be 'redressed. Demagogues have assailed her with the ribaldry of the hustings in the sanctity of the Senate—she has been irritated and goaded 'to madness by the libels that have been poured 'forth for years upon the most sacred and most 'delicate of her domestic institutions, by the 'mountebanks of the pulpit, who in their pos- 'tiferous career are animated by the most igno- 'ble of all the forms in which worldly ambition 'can display itself—the ambition for securing 'notoriety, by an association with the demons,'—the good Doctor is getting rather warm in pandering to the false prejudices and

"malignant passions of vulgar minds." This is truly a caloric passage. It is hot work to read it; it must have been at least 90° above 0 to write it in the pastoral shirt-sleeves and about 120° to preach it in full canonicals. The only reason why we and plain men like us cannot endow it, is that there is so little truth in it; as all will informed men who read the newspapers will understand and allow.

As Dr. Taylor came so near to getting into a most worldly and unamiable passion, we cannot sufficiently commend the philosophical resolution of the Rev. Dr. Tyng, who determined "this day 'to say nothing upon the subject' of Slavery, fearful of 'starting up irritable and irascible 'men.' Dr. Tyng's slightly atrocious condition affords a strong contrast to the cheerfulness, not to say the jollity, of the Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, who said: "I have seen as 'many smiling faces of late as I could possibly 'expect.' . . . In a word, we are all 'comfortable.' This gives *The Express* an excellent chance to compare Dr. Thompson to Nero fiddling, &c., which we trust that paper will not neglect.

The gentleman who improved this memorable occasion in the most thoroughly pious way seems to have been the Rev. Mr. Van Dyke (of the First Brooklyn Presbyterian), who said: "The O. S. Presbyterians are as wealthy a religious body as any in the country, and yet 'during the past year the contributions from all 'the members for religious purposes do not exceed two dollars a head.' Disgraceful! We have not always agreed with the Rev. Mr. Van Dyke, but now we do most heartily. Again we say, disgraceful!

We hardly have reserved space in which to speak of the many excellent discourses pronounced in our sister city of Boston upon the Buchanan Fast Day. To one sentiment enunciated by the Rev. John E. Todd we must give place. It is this: "Suppose Slavery is as wrong 'as the stoutest Garrisonian would believe it to 'be, there is no reform which is worthy of 'being purchased by revolution.' This is a neat hit, but it is harder upon the memory of John and Samuel Adams and James Otis than upon the living Garrison.

We do not know that we have read any Boston sermon with so much pleasure as that delivered by Dr. (Southside) Adams, who said: "To 'a Northerner, the South, with its warm, generous love, used to seem to be like their yellow 'jasmine climbing into every part of the tree!" Very fine; very fine indeed; pretty and poetical! Only we wish that our beloved Southern brethren, in their excreting love, wouldn't far and feather us; wouldn't give way to the amiable impulse of inserting bow-knives into our bodies, or of hanging us—good-naturedly, of course; wouldn't mob defenseless women; wouldn't maltreat honest mechanics; wouldn't grow angry and threaten to wage war upon us. When they reform in these respects, we promise not to yield even to the Rev. Dr. Adams in our admiration for the "yellow jasmine!"

Other words were uttered upon that Day of Humiliation, by other men—cheap and common words, repetitions of the stale beatitudes, tedious enumerations of the charities, weak and witless pleadings for those whom God cursed so long ago. Here and there a fanatic ventured to rehearse the Golden Rule—but what have we to do with him?

## SLAVE-CATCHING LAW.

"It cannot be doubted," said Mr. Justice Story, in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court in the often-quoted and little-understood case of Prigg agt. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, that the Fugitive Slave clause of the Constitution "constituted a fundamental article, 'without the adoption of which the Union could 'not have been formed.' The assertion is true, and the admission is important. The admission is important, as it is in direct contravention of a later dictum of the same Court—"that a black 'man has no rights which a white man is bound 'to respect." "By the general law of nations," continues Judge Story, "no nation is bound to recognize Slavery, as to foreign slaves found 'within its dominions. . . . If it does, it is 'as a matter of comity, and not as a matter of 'international right. The state of Slavery is 'deemed to be a mere municipal regulation, 'founded upon and limited to the range of the 'Territorial laws. . . . It is manifest from 'this consideration, that if the Constitution had 'not contained this clause, every non-slaveholding 'State in the Union would have been at liberty 'to have declared free all runaway slaves coming 'within its limits, and to have given them entire 'immunity and protection against the claims of 'their masters." The historical evidence on this point is equally positive. In the North Carolina Convention on the Federal Constitution, Judge Iredell said, as an inducement to its acceptance: "If any of our slaves go there [the Free 'States], and remain there a certain time, they 'would, by the present laws, be entitled to 'their freedom, so that their masters could not 'get them. This would be extremely prejudicial 'to the inhabitants of the Southern States; and to 'prevent it, this clause is inserted in the Constitu- 'tion." So when Charles Cotesworth Pinckney returned from the Convention to South Carolina, he used, as a powerful sedative for that little community, then, as now, in a chronic state of irritable and malignant eruption, this language: "We have obtained a right to recover 'our slaves in whatever part of America they 'may take refuge; which is a right we had not 'before." The point we make then is this, and it is one that has altogether been lost sight of: Cotemporary history, and subsequent judicial decisions of the highest authority, show that the natural right to liberty belongs as much to the black man as to the white, and equally entitles him to the protection of law. It is only when the black man is a fugitive slave that he loses this right in a Free State, and then by virtue of a special clause of the Constitution, without which the Union could not have been formed, and the very necessity of which is an admission of the natural right of all negroes who are not slaves. It was not deemed necessary by the framers of the Constitution to provide for the rendition or capture of horses or oxen escaping from one State to another, because the right to property in those animals is questioned by nobody. But the negroes, though held like other animals, as property in the Slave States, are not so held in the Free States, and a special clause was requisite to cover their case when they made their escape. In all other relations, they are, in the States where the municipal law does not recognize Slavery, simply men, and entitled to that protection which any

Government, deceiving the name, gives to all its citizens. The distinction is one not to be lost sight of in a discussion touching the right of personal liberty. To exclude from this beneficent general law a poor fellow whose aspirations and abilities had enabled him to achieve his own freedom, was an unhappy and cruel exception, and led to infinite trouble. But let us not aggravate the mistake of the framers of the Constitution by giving to their admission a breadth and power they were never guilty of intending.

We do not mean, however, to give to the decision of the Supreme Court in the Prigg case a credit that does not belong to it. The intention of those who made it was quite as monstrous as its warm admirers have ever claimed. It meant to make slave-catching, in the words of Judge Tancy, the "paramount law" of the land, and to render impossible the defense of the liberty of the citizen who should be claimed as a slave. It declared that the Constitution, in its rendition clause, "executes itself," and that the undoubted right which the State law at home gave to the master to go into the woods or swamps, into the next town or the next county, and capture his runaway man, or one whom he called a runaway, white or black, as if he were a runaway horse, the Constitution secured him the privilege of doing in Boston or New-York, on Bunker Hill, or at Lexington, without being compelled to submit to any impertinent questions as to his slaveholding rights. It was only necessary that one who preferred this method of recovery, an alleged fugitive, should do so without claiming an alleged fugitive, should do so without a breach of the peace; his kidnapping—if it happened to be that, for the claimant's word as to his title to his captive was all that was requisite—had only to be made without noise. It further declared that the power of legislation upon the subject was exclusive in the National Government, and that, therefore, all State laws, whether to aid the recapture of fugitives, or to "interrupt, limit, delay, or postpone the right of 'the owner to the immediate possession of the 'slave," are unconstitutional. It nevertheless maintained that State magistrates might, if called upon by Federal legislation, act under such a law, unless prohibited by the State; and it granted to the State its right of police regulation, whereby it might dispose of fugitive slaves as it would of other vagabonds, and which, while "such regulations can never be permitted to 'interfere with or obstruct 'the pursuit of the slavehunters, 'might essentially promote and aid 'the interests of the owners." In short, the whole scope and purpose of the decision was to extend slave law all over the Union, to deprive the individual States of the power to protect their own citizens, and to render it impossible to punish kidnapping. It was not singular that this monstrous Judicial opinion, announcing principles hitherto unheard of, and so subversive of law and morality, should have been put forth by the voice of a Northern man, for it has long been the practice of the South, when any special degradation was adjudged for the North, to call upon some of her own sons to pronounce the sentence. Nevertheless, like vaulting ambition, it overleaped itself. Its strength was intended to be in the doctrine that legislation lay with the Federal Government alone, as that was a safeguard against any undue opposition to slave-hunting in the non-slaveholding States, which Mr. Justice Story thought the "feelings" and the "prejudices" of that section might engender. But it so turned out that that which was meant to be its greatest strength was its greatest weakness; and this was so evident that the acute mind of Chief-Justice Tancy could not fail to detect it, nor permit it to pass without exposing it.

If legislation was exclusive in Congress, then all State laws, whether to aid or prevent the arrest of fugitives, are equally unconstitutional. This was the decision of the Court. Now, the laws of any Southern State—and there is no Southern State without them—for the arrest of stray negroes, by virtue of which they are lodged in jail, advertised by sheriff or jailor, and finally sold, unless the owner has reclaimed them, are all contrary to the Constitution, according to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in this case. Arkansas and Missouri, and probably other States, have laws regulating the method of the taking of fugitives beyond their borders, intended, no doubt, to protect themselves against slave-stealers; but they are all unconstitutional. The law of Missouri—and there are similar laws in other Slave States—under pretext of which the attempt was made to arrest Anderson when he killed his pursuer, was also an unconstitutional law, and on that ground, if no other, the English Government may justly refuse his surrender. If, then, the doctrine of exclusive legislation is accepted, let the application be universal. The South cannot justly complain of the North because, in a few instances, it has failed to comply with a judicial decision which is universally disregarded in its own States. If any scheme of compromise shall be adopted including a recommendation of a repeal of all laws relating to fugitives, in accordance with the decision in the Prigg case, let it be no partial recommendation. If compliance is insisted upon, it should be a universal compliance. We acknowledge the constitutional bond; but we are willing to go no little, not one inch, not a single syllable beyond it. If fugitives from labor have no right to liberty, free negroes are none the less entitled to protection. Under the anti-kidnapping laws of the North, probably not ten slaves have ever been protected from rendition; under the fugitive slave laws of the South, no doubt freemen, in the proportion of a hundred to one, have been reduced to Slavery.

Nor is this the only weak point of the decision in the Prigg case. It admitted also that "State 'magistrates' might be 'prohibited by State 'legislation' from acting under Congressional Fugitive Slave acts. Taking advantage of this admission, those States which have passed Personal Liberty bills since the enactment of the Fugitive Slave bill of 1850, have made it a penal offense in their State officers to render any assistance in the rendition of fugitives. This is the main feature of all these laws, and it is this which makes them so obnoxious at the South. Here, also, Chief-Justice Tancy wisely foresaw the results of so dangerous an admission. He dissented from the Court on this point, and said: "If the State authorities are absolved from all 'obligation to protect this right, and may stand 'by and see it violated without an effort to de- 'fend it, the act of Congress of 1793 scarcely 'deserves the name of a remedy. The State 'officers mentioned in the law are not bound 'to execute the duties imposed upon them by 'Congress, unless they choose to do so, or are 'required to do so by a law of the State; the 'State Legislature has the power to prohibit

"them." Nevertheless, the ruling in the Prigg case has become law; in accordance therewith, the Fugitive Slave act of 1850 imposes the Judicial duty connected therewith upon Federal officers, securing their decision in favor of the slave-catcher by a bribe so small as to indicate the character of the man chosen to receive it. The States, in conforming to the same decision, and forbidding their own officers to render any assistance in executing the law, are simply obedient to that Northern sentiment of humanity and sense of self-respect which revolts at so base a business as hunting men.

Some gentlemen in Boston, learned in the law, have recently pronounced the Personal Liberty bill of Massachusetts unconstitutional, and other gentlemen, more or less learned, in other places, have passed similar judgment upon similar laws elsewhere. If the reader has followed us patiently thus far, he will see that such opinions are good for nothing so far as the prohibition to State magistrates, which we have just been considering, is concerned. It can only be pretended that such enactments are unconstitutional, that their purpose is to aid in the recapture of fugitives, or to prevent it. The right of a State, however, to protect its own citizens is unquestionable, and one that should never be surrendered, because it is an act of State sovereignty which was never delegated to the Federal Government; because the Constitution expressly provides that the rights of the people to be secure in their persons shall not be violated; because that instrument provides expressly against the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, except in cases of rebellion or invasion; and because, both by the terms of the Constitution and the decision of the Supreme Court, no citizen or subject is excluded from the benefit of the general law of liberty, unless he be a fugitive from labor. No Northern State has ever passed an act proposing, in the last resort, to absolve a fugitive, justly claimed, from his obligation to service under the laws of the State whence he escaped; no Northern State has ever passed any act relating to persons claimed as fugitives, in any other spirit, or with any other purpose, than simply to extend the protection of law to those free citizens, whom, under color of law, it is attempted to kidnap and reduce to Slavery. If any of the laws for the protection of liberty in the Free States, therefore, are unconstitutional, it is in the letter only, and not in the intention. Such laws, then, like our own of 1840, need not to be repealed, but to be amended. They need to be amended only so far as to make their purpose clear of protecting their own citizens, whether white or black, against kidnapping; and they can be further made in perfect accordance with the decision in the Prigg case, by attaching a penalty to any interference on the part of all persons holding the commission of the State, with the unhappy duty of surrendering fugitives from labor—a duty belonging exclusively to the Federal Government. The simple duty of the State is to avoid the enactment of any law which shall "discharge from service or labor" one justly owing such service or labor under the laws of the State whence he has fled. To go further than this, will be to surrender the clearest and dearest obligation of a free government, the test alike of its purity and its strength—the obligation to protect the humblest and most helpless of its citizens.

A correspondent sends us a piece of a tract, which he says was disseminated during the late Presidential canvass by the "Democratic (Breckinridge) National Committee," which professes to quote "Horace Greeley" as saying in THE TRIBUNE, of July 25, 1854, as follows: "We contend that the abolition of Slavery in the States is the real object of the Republican party."

Our correspondent wants this imputation contradicted; so we have wasted much time in hunting for any such passage in THE TRIBUNE referred to, but of course have found nothing of the sort. We are confident that we never claimed for the Republicans of any State, Free or otherwise, any right to interfere with the domestic concerns of any other State, and we presume the above pretended citation is a forgery. The sentiment is not a very heinous one, but the crime of falsely imputing it is scarcely lessened by that circumstance. "Slavery in the States" is very likely to perish; but it would not be fair to give that credit therefor to the Republican party to which the Southern Fire-Eaters will probably have a far juster claim.

The Republican Statesman is the journal hitherto known as The Albany Statesman, edited by James B. Swain, and published daily at \$5, and weekly at \$2 per annum. It has just been considerably enlarged, and otherwise improved in appearance, and promises to uphold the Canal interests of our State against unfair rivalry, and to resist with determined vigor all attempts to compromise away the vital principle of Republicanism. Those who sympathize with those objects, and want a paper from Albany, will find The Statesman to their liking.

The Albany Evening Journal has also been considerably enlarged within a few days, is vigorously conducted, quite handsomely printed, and justly boasts a large measure of patronage and prosperity. The distinguishing characteristics of The Journal are well known; those of The Statesman are in some respects antagonistic; but there are room and support for both. May the success of each be equal to its merits!

We learn from Washington that the retiring representatives from South Carolina sent back by the Commissioners, whom Mr. Buchanan wouldn't treat with, and collected a little stationery that was due them. This was the principal business transacted by those Plenipotentiaries. It appears that \$26 worth of stationery, is allowed to each member of the House. The South Carolina representatives were at Washington only three weeks, and, of course, did not use up their allowance. But in the excitement of the revolution they forgot to call for their stationery account before they left. This was the business the Embassadors finished. They took back in their trunks the paper, and sand, and quills, and steel pens, and sealing wax, and envelopes, and each functionary was entitled to, to make up his account. There is a suspicion afloat at Washington that this was the main thing the Commissioners were after, and that their ostensible object was only a blind.

Gov. Wise gives public notice that if the people of Virginia should ever deliberate whether in the present crisis they will go with the North or the South, "at least, for one of her sons, will not follow her lead, but I will rush to South Caro-